

Message Text

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S E C R E T CAPE TOWN 0215

NODIS - CHEROKEE

DEPARTMENT PASS LONDON FOR SHAUFELE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, SF, RH
SUBJ: RHODESIAN SITUATION

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 0206; (B) STATE 031315

1. AFTER CONVERSATIONS WITH FOURIE AND HAWKINS YESTERDAY AND ON FURTHER REFLECTION OVER THE REASONS FOR IAN SMITH'S INITIATIVE IN ASKING FOR MEETING WITH VORSTER AND VORSTER'S PROPOSAL FOR HIGH-LEVEL, TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, I BELIEVE THE EXPLANATION LIES ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A) SMITH, CONCERNED ABOUT THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION AND THE FIRM STAND TAKEN BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, CAME TO CAPE TOWN TO EXPLAIN WHY HE HAD REJECTED THE RICHARD PROPOSALS THE WAY HE DID AND TO TRY TO ENLIST VORSTER'S BACKING FOR HIS "INTERNAL SOLUTION". FOURIE WOULD TELL ME NOTHING ABOUT THE VORSTER-SMITH TALKS OR WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD IN MIND IN TERMS OF WHAT MIGHT BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE TRILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. BUT HAWKINS INDICATED THAT SMITH GAVE VORSTER A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE RICHARD VISIT AND BOTH MEN MADE A CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND RELATIVE STRENGTH OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADERS

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IN RHODESIA. HAWKINS SAID BOTH HAD AGREED THAT NYRERE DOES NOT WANT A SOLUTION AND KAUNDA HAS ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE CAUGHT IN A CURRENT WHERE HE CAN NO LONGER CONTROL HIS COURSE. THE TWO LEADERS CONCLUDED THAT MUGABE HAS NO MEANINGFUL STRENGTH IN RHODESIA, HAVING BEEN PUT IN HIS PRESENT POSITION BY THE KARANGA WHO HAVE ASSUMED CONTROL OF ZIPA. BOTH THOUGHT THAT NKOMO HAS LOST POPULAR SUPPORT BY JOINING

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FAILING TO CONDEMN THE ATROCITIES
SITHOLE CARRIES LITTLE CLOUT ASIDE FROM SOME SUPPORT IN
MANICALAND. BOTH AGREED THAT MUZOREWA COMMANDS 60-70 PERCENT
OF THE BLACK POPULATION WITH ZUPO ANOTHER 20 PERCENT.
WITHOUT SAYING THAT VORSTER SUBSCRIBED TO THIS POINT, HAWKINS
EXPRESSED HOPE THAT MUZOREWA COULD BE PERSUADED TO RETURN TO
RHODESIA TO TALK ABOUT A REFERENDUM WHICH WOULD DEFINE THE
RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE LEADERS AND PROVIDE A BASIS FOR
RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS. HAWKINS SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT THE
FIGHTING TO STOP AS A RESULT OF THIS BUT THE RECRUITMENT
WOULD DRY UP.

B) VORSTER'S MOTIVATION STEMS FROM TWO SOURCES. HE DOES NOT
WANT THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO BE IRRETRIVABLY LOST.
THE ALTERNATIVE IS THE VIOLENT SOLUTION WHICH WILL CONFRONT
HIM WITH HIGHLY EMOTIONAL STRESS AND STRAINS ON AN ALREADY
TAUGHT RACIAL CLIMATE HERE AND WITH DECISIONS WHICH
WILL NOT ONLY COMPLICATE HIS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS BUT ALSO COULD
EASILY LEAD TO A SURGE IN INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES. HE WANTS THE
NEGOTIATIONS RESUMED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BUT FIRST HE WANTS
TO DISCUSS HOW TO OVERCOME "THE HURDLE" WHICH HE DESCRIBED
TO SIR DAVID SCOTT AND ME AS "THE PROBLEM OF WITH WHOM TO
NEGOTIATE". MY HUNCH IS THAT HIS LANGUAGE MAY WELL REFER TO
VARIANTS OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION WITH MUZOREWA, AND POSSIBLY
NKOMO, PARTICIPATION WHICH HE PROBABLY DISCUSSED WITH SMITH.
THE OTHER REASON FOR THE INITIATIVE IS THAT VORSTER IS
PUZZLED AND WORRIED OVER THE NEW ADMINISTRATIONS ATTITUDE TOWARD
RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. A MEETING WOULD PROVIDE
A CHANCE TO EXPLAIN HIS PROBLEMS, EXPLORE US ATTITUDES AND
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CONCEIVABLY REACH UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH ONLY HE CAN MAKE.

2. I AGREE WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHAUFELE THAT BEFORE
DECIDING ON VORSTER'S PROPOSAL WE SHOULD FIND OUT WHAT THE
MEETING IS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE AND THE CHANCES OF ITS BEING
PRODUCTIVE (REFTEL B). I SEE UTILITY IN ALLOWING SOME TIME
TO PASS IN ORDER TO PERMIT PRESSURES TO BUILD UP ON SMITH AND
VORSTER. A WAIT OF 4-6 WEEKS IS NOT LIKELY TO CHANGE THE
MILITARY PICTURE TO THE EXTENT OF PRECLUDING ALTERNATIVES.
REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMMENDMENT AND SOME FORTHRIGHT TALK DURING
THE MARCH SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION ON NAMIBIA WOULD SOFTEN
UP SMITH TO THE POINT THAT HE MIGHT BE MORE AMENABLE TO A
NEGOTIATED SOLUTION AND VORSTER MIGHT BE MORE INCLINED TO
USE HIS LEVERAGE ON SMITH TO AVOID THE SITUATION HE FEARS.
BOWDLER

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